United Nations S/PV.5252

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5252nd meeting

Tuesday, 30 August 2005, 12.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Oshima	(Japan)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Katti
	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Mr. Faaborg-Andersen
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Telalian
	Philippines	Miss Aguinaldo
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Smirnov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Johnston
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Brencick

Agenda

The situation in Burundi

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-47542 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Burundi in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nkingiye (Burundi) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council.

(*spoke in French*)

"The Security Council acknowledged the election of Pierre Nkurunziza as President of the Republic of Burundi, on 19 August 2005. This vote marks the welcome final step of the transitional process in Burundi. The conclusion of this transitional process represents an important milestone for the future of Burundi as well as the Great Lakes region as a whole.

"The Security Council pays tribute to the spirit of peace and dialogue demonstrated by the Burundian people throughout the transitional period and commends them for their encouraging participation in the electoral process. The Council calls on all parties to respect the will of the Burundian people, the elected Government and the commitments agreed during the transitional process. It encourages the new authorities to continue on the course of stability and national reconciliation and to promote social concord. It reaffirms in this regard that it is essential to bring an end to the climate of impunity.

"The Security Council commends the critical contribution the Regional Initiative for Peace in Burundi, the African Union and the United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB) made to the peace process. It calls upon all international partners of Burundi, including the States of the Regional Initiative and the main donors, to remain committed and encourages them to agree with the Burundian authorities on the most appropriate framework to coordinate their support to reforms currently under way and to the consolidation of peace."

(*spoke in English*)

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2005/41.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5253

Security Council

Distr.: General
31 August 2005

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5253rd (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 31 August 2005 at 10 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 5253rd meeting, held in private on 31 August 2005, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'The situation in Côte d'Ivoire'.

"In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, the President, with the consent of the Council, extended an invitation under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Mosiuoa Gerard Patrick Lekota, Minister of Defence of South Africa, in his capacity as the Chief Mediator on Côte d'Ivoire of the African Union.

"The President, with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria (representing the Chairman of the African Union), to participate in the discussion of the item without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

"In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, the President, with the consent of the Council, extended an invitation under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Pierre Schori, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Côte d'Ivoire.

"The members of the Council heard briefings by His Excellency Mr. Mosiuoa Lekota, Minister of Defence for South Africa; His Excellency Mr. Aminu Wali, Permanent Representative of Nigeria; and Mr. Pierre Schori, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Côte d'Ivoire.

"Members of the Council and the representative of Côte d'Ivoire exchanged views with the above-named briefers."

05-47727 (E) 310805

United Nations S/PV.5253*

Security Council

Distr.: General
2 September 2005

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5253rd (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 31 August 2005, at 10 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 5253rd meeting, held in private on 31 August 2005, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'The situation in Côte d'Ivoire'.

"In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, the President, with the consent of the Council, extended an invitation under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Mosiuoa Gerard Patrick Lekota, Minister of Defence of South Africa, in his capacity as the representative of the Chief Mediator on Côte d'Ivoire of the African Union.

"The President, with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria (representing the Chairman of the African Union), to participate in the discussion of the item without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

"In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, the President, with the consent of the Council, extended an invitation under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Pierre Schori, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Côte d'Ivoire.

"The members of the Council heard briefings by His Excellency Mr. Mosiuoa Lekota, Minister of Defence for South Africa; His Excellency Mr. Aminu Wali, Permanent Representative of Nigeria; and Mr. Pierre Schori, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Côte d'Ivoire.

"Members of the Council and the representative of Côte d'Ivoire exchanged views with the above-named briefers."

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* Reissued for technical reasons.

05-47727* (E) 060905

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5254th meeting

Wednesday, 31 August 2005, 1 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Oshima	(Japan)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Katti
	Argentina	Mr. D'Alotto
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Mr. Faaborg-Andersen
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Philippines	Mr. Mercado
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Howe-Jones
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Brencick

Agenda

The situation in Sierra Leone

Twenty-fifth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (S/2005/273) and Add.1 and 2

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-47663 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 1 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Sierra Leone

Twenty-fifth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (S/2005/273 and Add.1 and 2)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Sierra Leone in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rowe (Sierra Leone) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them documents S/2005/273 and addenda 1 and 2, which contain the twenty-fifth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2005/554, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1620 (2005).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5255

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5255th meeting

Tuesday, 6 September 2005, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Djeffal
	Argentina	Mr. Garcia Moritán
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Li Junhua
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Howe-Jones
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Salaita
	United States of America	Mr. Brencick

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Special report of the Secretary-General on elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2005/320 and Add.1).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-48011 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of September, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Kenzo Oshima, Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of August 2005. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Oshima for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Special report of the Secretary-General on elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2005/320 and Add.1)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the special report of the Secretary-General on elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, documents S/2005/320 and addendum 1. Members also have before them document S/2005/555, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1621 (2005).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 10.15 a.m.

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5256th meeting

Wednesday, 7 September 2005, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	Benin	Mr. Aho-Glele
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Denisov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir. Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

The situation concerning Iraq

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-48154 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Iraq

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sumaida'ie (Iraq), took a seat at the Council table.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Paul Volcker, Chairman of the Independent Inquiry Committee into the United Nations Oil-for-Food Programme.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Volcker to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Paul Volcker, Chairman of the Independent Inquiry Committee into the United Nations Oil-for-Food Programme.

I now give him the floor.

Mr. Volcker: I and my colleagues with me today greatly appreciate this opportunity to address the Security Council directly on the results of our inquiry.

Eighteen months have now passed since the inquiry was launched, with the full support of a resolution of the Security Council. That resolution was critically important in signalling Council members' interest in the investigation and in eliciting cooperation by Member States, their agencies and, importantly, the countries represented around this table.

Our assignment has been to look for misadministration or maladministration in the oil-for-food programme and for evidence of corruption within the United Nations and by contractors. Unhappily, we found both. The investigation and the findings are documented in great detail in the very large report before the Council. What I want to emphasize this morning are not the details, but the broad conclusions and recommendations the Committee has reached. They are summarized in the preface to our report, released yesterday, which I believe is in members' hands.

In essence, the responsibility for the failures must be broadly shared, starting, we believe, with member States and the Security Council itself. In the first place, the programme left too much initiative with Iraq. It was, as one past member of this Council has put it, a compact with the devil, and the devil had means for manipulating the programme to his ends. That basic difficulty was compounded by a failure to clearly define the complex administrative responsibilities shared between the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) and the Secretariat, and by continuing political differences. The result was that no one seemed clearly in command. Delays in or evasion of decision-making were chronic.

The administrative structure and practices of the Secretariat and some agencies clearly were not up to the truly extraordinary challenge presented by the programme. Sadly, those weaknesses were aggravated by unethical and corrupt behaviour at key points at the top of the Office of the Iraq Programme and in the purchasing department.

There was a pervasive absence of effective auditing and administrative controls. Weak planning, sorely inadequate funding, and too few professional staff were all characteristic of the process. The absence of truly independent status for the auditing and control functions was a critical deficiency. Close cooperation among various United Nations organs apparently goes against the grain for agencies with their own funding, management and oversight. It is true that autonomy can bring benefits, but in a complex programme requiring a range of competencies, while at the same time

invoking common funding and a common purpose, absence of full cooperation should not be tolerated.

That is a litany of problems. Clearly, there is another side to the story — one of positive success. An expert study commissioned by the Committee confirms that the programme averted the clear and present danger of malnutrition and a further collapse of medical services in Iraq. That is no small achievement, especially when combined with the support that the programme provided for maintaining the basic sanctions against Iraq and its inability to obtain weapons of mass destruction.

The conclusions we draw will not surprise the Council. They emphasize the need for stronger operational capacity and authority. Specifically, we suggest or recommend that a new chief operating officer be appointed with a clear mandate and authority for administration. Our conclusions underscore the need for strong and independent auditing control and investigatory functions. And again, we recommend a strong independent oversight board.

These and other recommendations are common to most recent commentary and reports. What our work does is bring new dimensions to the discussion.

I believe our investigation is unprecedented in both scale and detail. It covers both the Security Council itself and the Secretariat in New York. It has touched directly on nine other members of the United Nations family.

Consequently, we do not believe our conclusions can be dismissed as simply reporting aberrations in one programme or something that can be smoothed over with patchwork changes. Instead, the problems are symptomatic of deep-seated systemic issues. Those issues arise in an Organization designed 60 years ago for a simpler time, an Organization then without large and complex operational challenges alongside its political and diplomatic responsibilities.

I believe I speak for my colleagues as well as myself in the conviction that in an unsettled world the United Nations will again be called upon — it is being called upon today — to deal with complex operational problems crossing national and disciplinary boundaries. The administrative ability and the technical capacity of the Secretariat and the agencies will be tested again and again.

A United Nations programme carries with it — and should carry with it — a strong sense of international legitimacy. No single nation or group of nations can match that potential quality. But we believe that more than legitimacy is essential to success. Support is, in the end, dependent upon credibility and confidence. And it is that credibility and confidence that have been challenged by the travails of the oil-for-food programme. To some degree, the Organization has been weakened.

That is why reform is so urgent. We commend our particular recommendations to the Council. And we urge the Council and the General Assembly to set firm benchmarks for progress. Quite specifically, action should be taken by the time the General Assembly completes its meetings in 2006. The opportunity for reform should not — in my view, must not — be lost.

The President: I thank Mr. Volcker for his briefing.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting. I now invite him to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: As members know, it was on my initiative, and with the support of the Council, that in April of last year, Mr. Volcker, Justice Goldstone and Professor Pieth were asked to conduct their inquiry. I took that initiative not with a view to deflecting blame or to forging a political weapon against anyone, but with the sole purpose of uncovering the truth. I was convinced that only by revealing the full truth, however painful, could the United Nations regain its credibility and establish what changes were needed.

Mr. Volcker himself remarked, when presenting his first interim report, that few other organizations would have opened themselves to independent scrutiny as fully as this one has. And indeed, the truth as revealed in the successive interim reports of the inquiry and in this full report today is painful for all of us. There can be few people, either in the Council or in the Secretariat, who will take pleasure in hearing or reading the conclusions that the inquiry has reached.

Yet I believe we should all be profoundly grateful to Mr. Volcker and his colleagues for the work they have done and the report they have produced. I have no

doubt — no doubt at all — that the Organization will benefit from it.

My colleagues and I have only just received the full report, as Council members have, and therefore it would be premature for me to give a detailed response at this stage. But there are some things that I am ready to say now.

The report is critical of me personally, and I accept the criticism. Earlier this year the Committee concluded that I did not influence, or attempt to influence, the procurement process. And I am glad to note that that conclusion is reaffirmed.

But I accepted then, and still accept, the conclusion that I was not diligent or effective enough in pursuing an investigation after the fact, when I learned that the company that employed my son had won the humanitarian inspection contract. I deeply regret that.

The evidence of actual corruption among a small number of United Nations staff is also profoundly disappointing for all of us who work in the Organization.

But, while I have not yet had time to study the full text of the report, I am gratified to see that two essential points are made in the preface. First, the Committee notes that the programme did succeed in restoring and maintaining minimal standards of nutrition and health in Iraq, while also helping maintain the international effort to prevent Saddam Hussein from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Secondly, it observes that the wholesale corruption within the programme took place among private companies manipulated by Saddam Hussein's Government.

More important, however, are the Committee's findings about the general management of the programme, which was characterized by weak administrative practices and inadequate control and auditing. Most important of all is the way those findings reflect on the system of decision-making, accountability and management throughout the Organization. Here too, as chief administrative officer, I have to take responsibility for the failings revealed, both in the implementation of the programme and, more generally, in the functioning of the Secretariat.

The report also finds that many of these problems were rooted in an unclear demarcation of roles and responsibilities among the Council, the 661 Committee and the Secretariat — and in particular in the Council's decision to retain substantial elements of operational control within the 661 Committee, composed of national diplomats working under highly politicized instructions from their home Governments, yet willing to take decisions only when there was unanimous consent among all the 15 members. This, of course, calls for reflection by Member States.

There are hard lessons for all of us to learn. They are lessons about the importance of accountability, particularly of having clear lines of responsibility and reporting, so that all officials and all parts of the Secretariat know exactly where their responsibilities lie. They are lessons about oversight, particularly about the need for mechanisms to ensure that when oversight reveals deficiencies, someone takes prompt action to repair those deficiencies. And, above all, they are lessons about the need for the United Nations to maintain the highest possible standards of integrity and effective performance.

We shall have to study all these lessons, and all the Committee's recommendations, with great care. It may well be that we shall have to propose specific new reform measures to put them into practice.

But one thing should be clear right now. The Inquiry's findings underscore the vital importance of proposed management reforms, many of which are at this very minute being negotiated by Members in the General Assembly with a view to their adoption, as part of a broader agenda of political and institutional change, by next week's summit.

As the Council knows, I have already embarked on new reforms in areas where I have discretion — reforms designed to improve the performance of senior management, to strengthen oversight and accountability, to increase transparency and to ensure the highest standards of ethics, notably by creating a new ethics office. But there are many key decisions that only the General Assembly can make.

As the Inquiry's report says, we cannot be sure, however much we might wish it, that fresh emergencies will not sooner or later impose on us new tasks as complex as the oil-for-food programme.

Therefore, it is vital that we review fully the rules governing our budgetary and human resources. The oil-for-food programme is only the most extreme example

of the wide range of new types of operation that Member States have called on the Secretariat to undertake in the last 15 years. It surely illustrates the point that our rules must allow us to attract, retain and develop a cadre of professionals with appropriate skills to manage such operations, to move them from post to post in a fair and practicable way and to rationalize the budgetary process, which at present is far too heavy, time-consuming and bureaucratic.

Even more obviously, it is vital that we build a stronger and better-resourced oversight structure and ensure that it is fully independent both from the Secretariat and from political interference by Member States. One important element in this new structure would be the independent oversight advisory committee proposed in the draft outcome document submitted by the President of the General Assembly, which corresponds closely to the Committee's recommendation of an independent auditing board.

But it is no less vital that the Secretary-General himself should be allowed to carry out his functions effectively, taking day-to-day decisions on the deployment of staff and resources without having to wait for prior approval from the General Assembly, this Council or their various committees. As the report says, one of the fundamental problems with the oil-for-food programme was that neither the Security Council nor the Secretariat leadership was clearly in command, and that turned out to be a recipe for the dilution of Secretariat authority and the evasion of personal responsibility at all levels. In future, the respective roles and powers of the different parts of the Organization must be clearly defined so that the Secretary-General knows precisely what is expected of him and Member States can hold him fully accountable for the results.

As I told the General Assembly negotiators last week, I know that none of you want a Secretariat that can always blame its failings on Member States, or Member States blaming their failings on the Secretariat. You want a Secretariat that is given clear instructions by Member States and then takes responsibility for its success or failure in carrying them out.

The findings in today's report must be deeply embarrassing to us all. The Inquiry Committee has ripped away the curtain and shone a harsh light into the most unsightly corners of the Organization. None of us — Member States, the Secretariat, agencies, funds and programmes — can be proud of what it has found. Who among us can now claim that United Nations management is not a problem or is not in need of reform?

On the contrary, as the Volcker report puts it, reform is imperative if the United Nations is to regain and retain the measure of respect among the international community that its work requires.

Next week's summit gives world leaders a golden opportunity to enact such a reform. But the negotiators are leaving it perilously late. There is a grave danger that the opportunity will be missed. I hope that I am wrong.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom is grateful to Mr. Volcker and the Secretary-General for their presentations.

I think this morning we need to remember above all that it is Saddam Hussein who remains the key culprit in the oil-for-food saga, as he sought continuously to corrupt the programme for personal benefit. Indeed, it was because of the humanitarian imperative that the Security Council and the United Nations Secretariat were obliged to reach less-than-satisfactory agreements with the Saddam regime and ensure a programme that would meet the essential needs of the Iraqi people. We have heard Mr. Volcker describe the circumstances of how that initial programme was put in place.

But none of that can excuse the corruption, the criminality and the mismanagement that took place. But in condemning that, let us not forget that the greater wrong that was done to the people of Iraq and to the region was done by Saddam.

This morning, we have heard the Secretary-General's acknowledgement of a personal and institutional responsibility. And with hindsight, it must be clear to all of us that many concerned in the circumstances of the time were too focused on other aspects of the Iraq problem, rather than on the accountable functioning of the oil-for-food programme. The report seems therefore to rightly highlight the shortcomings in the Secretariat's management, the part played by the Security Council in creating and

monitoring the oil-for-food programme and that of the Member States in enforcing Iraq's sanctions.

So, as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, we very much agree with the Secretary-General that in studying this report we have to draw lessons for the future, particularly on the question of management reform. The serious shortcomings that have been identified have to be corrected, and that underlines the need for a successful summit outcome next week, with real changes to secure the efficiency, the accountability, the transparency and, perhaps above all, the oversight that is necessary, and then to ensure that responsibilities are fulfilled by all concerned.

For our part, we fully support the Secretary-General in his efforts to ensure that the right lessons are drawn from this report and that action is then taken.

Mr. Bolton (United States of America): I thank you, Mr. President, for allowing Member States to express their preliminary reactions to the most recent report of the Independent Inquiry Committee. I also thank the Secretary-General for his comments today. And I thank Chairman Volcker for the important work he has done over the past year.

The United States will carefully review the report that Mr. Volcker has delivered, with one principal purpose in mind: to see how we can use the findings and recommendations made in his report to reform and improve the United Nations. Identifying those who failed to execute their responsibilities is a necessary part of the process; prosecuting wrongdoers is equally necessary. But what is most important is to consider the shortcomings of the oil-for-food programme as a catalyst for change at the United Nations.

It appears from the preface of the report of the Independent Inquiry Committee that, in spite of success in the humanitarian objective of ensuring that the Iraqi people were adequately fed, there is plenty of blame to go around for the failings of the oil-for-food programme. When we have had a chance to review the report, the United States may or may not agree with all of the findings of the Committee in that regard. What we can all agree on is that Saddam Hussein exploited the goodwill of the international community towards the people of Iraq. He exploited that goodwill in order to obtain billions of dollars for his own personal use and for the use of his regime so as to strengthen his authoritarian grip on his own people.

We can also agree that there was corruption both inside and outside the United Nations system and that that corruption allowed Saddam to achieve many of his illicit goals. There were bribes; there were kickbacks; there was lax oversight from the Secretariat. And some Member States turned a blind eye to that corruption.

We look forward to our heads of State arriving in New York next week to discuss, among other topics, the importance of reforming the United Nations system. We note the call by Chairman Volcker for greater auditing and management controls, including an independent audit board, stronger organizational ethics and more active management of the United Nations and its programmes by the Secretariat. Over the past several days we have been pushing for exactly that, only to meet with resistance from dozens of countries that are in a state of denial — countries which contend that business as usual at the United Nations is fine. This report unambiguously rejects the notion that business as usual at the United Nations is acceptable. We need to reform the United Nations in a manner that will prevent another oil-for-food scandal. The credibility of the United Nations depends on it.

Mr. Denisov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I should like at the outset to welcome the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and the Chairman of the Independent Inquiry Committee, Mr. Volcker. We thank Mr. Volcker for the report and commend him and the other members of the Independent Committee for their work. We have received the report, which is a comprehensive, detailed document. We will need time to examine it, and we will clearly pay close attention to that task.

However, having familiarized ourselves, before this meeting, with the preface of the report, and having listened today to Mr. Volcker and to the Secretary-General, I would like to say, by way of preliminary comment, that I share many of their conclusions. The United Nations humanitarian oil-for-food programme was authorized by the Security Council nine years ago as a measure aimed at easing the humanitarian suffering of the Iraqi people that resulted from the many years of comprehensive sanctions and embargo. The programme was in operation until March 2003, when it was suspended for reasons that are well known.

We believe that it is unfair to describe the humanitarian programme in solely negative terms. As I see it, in the report Mr. Volcker sets forth a true

understanding of the essence and nature of the humanitarian programme. I would like to remind the Council that he notes that the programme was designed correctly but that it was undermined in terms of its implementation. As we know, that is a frequent occurrence with operations that are of much lesser magnitude.

A discussion is currently under way on United Nations reform. The Secretary-General has proposed measures to improve the activities of the Secretariat; in general, we endorse and support them. We call on the Secretary-General to continue to make further efforts in that direction.

Despite the mistakes and miscalculations, the corruption and the grievous errors in implementation of the programme in general, it did show that broad actions of this type are possible and that the United Nations is in a position to provide assistance to civilians living under difficult conditions. Furthermore, as we see it, only the United Nations is capable of carrying out assignments of such a comprehensive, global nature. Unfortunately, recent events have demonstrated that major international humanitarian operations will still be called for. Right now, the most important thing is to adopt the necessary and correct conclusions as to how they are to be executed and managed.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): I too would like to thank Mr. Volcker for his introduction of the report of the Independent Inquiry Committee. I would also like to thank him for the excellent work he did in chairing the Committee. It would be pretentious and utterly unreasonable of me to pass judgement at this point on a document that is many hundred pages long and that has just been distributed and introduced to us. However, I would like to make some preliminary general comments on the oil-for-food programme.

It cannot be denied that that programme — a humanitarian programme whose scope was by far the largest of any such United Nations operation — was able to save the lives of millions of innocent people against whom an implacable sanctions system had been imposed by the Security Council. Without the programme, they would have died. Furthermore, as the Committee has made clear, the existence of the programme meant that Iraq neither acquired nor developed weapons of mass destruction. That is not an insignificant achievement.

It cannot be denied, either, that the United Nations was quickly overwhelmed by the immensity and complexity of the tasks involved in managing the programme. The United Nations — first of all, the Secretariat — was not equipped, with regard to management and planning or control of the operation, to carry out so many tasks that had to be learned on the job. However, also and above all, the Security Council's major concern — if not obsession — was to make sure that goods sold to Iraq could not be used for military purposes. For example, contracts on the sale of buses and river vehicles were blocked on the grounds that such vehicles might be used for military purposes.

The Security Council must thus accept a very significant share of the responsibility for the aberrations that occurred, because it was the Council that created the programme, that monitored the sanctions that it had imposed and that authorized all the contracts relating to the provision of goods to Iraq.

It is clear that differences of opinion — as is so often the case — among some of the most influential members of the Security Council did indeed hinder the effectiveness of the Council's activities in ensuring effective control of the programme. It is also undeniable that, as a result of lack of vigilance on the part of the Security Council and the Secretariat, there was corruption in the activities of private companies that had a relationship with the Council, as well as with respect to certain Secretariat officials.

It is also undeniable that, from the time of the imposition of sanctions until the aberrations occurred in the programme, it was the people of Iraq who paid the highest cost. First of all, they were buffeted by the impact of harsh sanctions. The also suffered from extortion by their leaders, by corrupt private corporations and by certain Secretariat officials, having their wealth stolen from them.

The Volcker Committee's report is shattering and its judgment is definitive. The United Nations has failed egregiously. That is all the more serious given that, more than any other institution, its actions must be above reproach. The Committee has also pointed to the Organization's inadequacies, shortcomings and malfunctioning, as well as to the way to redress them. It has clearly highlighted the absence of truly independent auditing and control and indicated that the Secretary-General does not have at his disposal the structures and tools to enable him effectively to

supervise and monitor the operational activities of the Organization. The report correctly underscores the fact that the Secretary-General is today perceived more as a diplomat and a political official than as a manager. In that connection, the report also pays well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General's work on the political and diplomatic fronts.

One lesson that the Council must learn has to do with the sanctions regime itself. The Council has indeed stopped applying sanctions in an impersonal — and I would even say blind — manner, but it should do more. Sanctions must be imposed as a last resort, they should be crafted in a way that does not impact upon innocent civilians, and they must be time-bound.

The ambitious reform programme we are involved in today — whose initiator and architect is the Secretary-General himself, in whom we have full confidence — provides us with the opportunity to make, in a prudent and well-thought-out manner but with a heightened sense of urgency, the changes needed if we want the Organization, for which there is no substitute, to be able to play its role on the international stage effectively, responsibly and with renewed confidence.

Mr. Oshima (Japan): We thank Mr. Volcker for his detailed introduction of the Committee's report. We also thank the Secretary-General for his observations.

We appreciate the high professionalism and the exemplary meticulousness with which Mr. Volcker and other members of the Committee carried out their task under difficult circumstances. Japan welcomes the present report. Because of its large volume and the sensitivity of the matter, we need time to study it carefully and thoroughly. However, at this stage we wish to make a few preliminary observations.

First, before we start pointing fingers at the problems and shortcomings that have come to light now, it is important to note the central fact that the oil-for-food programme succeeded in saving the lives and alleviating the suffering of many Iraqis over the several years that the programme functioned through its essentially humanitarian work, thus averting a major humanitarian catastrophe. As Mr. Volcker noted, that is no mean achievement.

The programme was indeed a serious attempt — of an extraordinary scale and complexity — designed to bridge the gulf between the need to maintain effective sanctions against Saddam Hussein's Government, on the one hand, and the need to ameliorate the humanitarian conditions of ordinary Iraqi people living under the regime, on the other. The programme was unprecedented in the history of the United Nations and the Security Council, in the scale and magnitude of the values involved and in the great complexity of operations that had to be executed and accounted for. My delegation therefore once again pays tribute to the many staff members of the United Nations who dutifully carried out their responsibilities under the programme without being in any way involved in any wrongdoing or corruption.

Secondly, that having been said, it is indeed unfortunate and serious that there were apparently certain lapses and instances of wrongdoing, which are unforgivable. The report is very thorough and comprehensive in its inquiry. Given the magnitude of the alleged corruption and mismanagement, and taking into account their political ramifications, the Committee was expected to meet a very high standard so as to help restore confidence in the United Nations. We are pleased that it has indeed met that challenge. In particular, the issue of ethics had never been taken up squarely by a United Nations report in such a fundamental way. Had it been left untouched, it might have become impossible to restore confidence in the United Nations. For that reason, the Committee's contribution is critically important. All Member States should take the Committee's findings and recommendations seriously, take those allegations that shake the international community's confidence in the United Nations very seriously, and try their best to restore that confidence.

Lastly, the four specific recommendations in the report concerning United Nations management reform are useful inputs for the ongoing discussions in the General Assembly on the summit that begins next week. We will study each one of them in detail. Member States, particularly including those that had a close relationship to the management of the programme in the Security Council, as well as the Secretariat, have a solemn responsibility to adopt and implement the needed managerial and other relevant reforms steadfastly, so that the Organization as a whole will learn lessons from the oil-for-food programme issues and regain the world's confidence in the United Nations.

Mr. Manongi (United Republic of Tanzania): We, too, join in thanking Chairman Volcker and his team for the report before us, as well as the Secretary-General for his statement.

As others have said, the oil-for-food programme is a programme that should never have been undertaken by the United Nations. We agree. It is a programme that has given rise to questionable practices that have largely only served to taint the Organization and undermine its international confidence. To a large extent, that is unfair. The oil-for-food programme did not and could not have run for years without the influence and oversight of Member States. This was not and is not a case of the Secretariat run amok without Member States' supervision. Chairman Volcker has made that patently clear in his introductory remarks. Whatever happened did so under the collective watch of the Council. As we receive this report, the need for balance must prevail, both in assessing what the Secretariat could have done better and what Member States ought to have done better. The Secretary-General has put it succinctly and well: there are lessons for all of us to learn.

We do not belittle the reported allegations of corruption. Corruption is a menace that must be fought at all costs. It raises transaction costs and, in the end, renders all of us victims. Any such allegations must be investigated, as has been done, and those responsible brought to answer to the law. Nonetheless, what was disconcerting for many of us was to witness, while the investigation was under way, a concerted campaign to paint the Organization, with one broad brush, as being inherently corrupt, incompetent and out of tune with current demands. That is deeply regrettable and incorrect. Corruption is not the preserve of any country, nor is it the preserve of public organizations alone. It can be found everywhere, including at the United Nations.

The report must not be taken to be an indictment of the vision, ideals and aspirations of the United Nations. Those lofty goals remain above reproach. We have an undertaking and an obligation to preserve them and to protect them. We have to make this Organization, and especially the Secretariat, better at serving those objectives. That is the challenge that faces us as we receive the report and as this Council and, especially, the General Assembly embark on examining its implications in an attempt to make this institution a better Organization.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): Allow me to thank Mr. Volcker for presenting the final report of the Independent Inquiry Committee into the United Nations Oil-for-Food Programme. I also thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

France commends the submission of the report to the Security Council pursuant to resolution 1538 (2004), in which the Council, in April 2004, welcomed the appointment of the Committee at the Secretary-General's initiative. The Secretary-General acted courageously to ensure transparency and truth, and France pays tribute to him.

My country fully supported the establishment of that independent body and has cooperated fully and transparently with it. We have always hoped that the brightest light would be shed on the irregularities committed under the oil-for-food programme. The final report has been highly anticipated. We welcome the important work done by the Committee and its Chairman in a limited amount of time and in often difficult conditions.

We have considered the preface to the report that was made public yesterday. The French authorities shall carefully study its conclusions and recommendations before making a final statement on its substance. As a preliminary reaction, we would stress the following points.

First, as noted by Mr. Volcker, the oil-for-food programme was the largest, most complex and most ambitious humanitarian effort ever undertaken by the United Nations. Given its magnitude, political stakes and financial costs, it cannot be compared to any other programme ever launched by the Organization. The report stresses that the programme provided considerable assistance to the Iraqi people, thereby enabling it to surmount the threat of a humanitarian crisis and to maintain the international effort aimed at preventing Iraq from acquiring prohibited weapons.

There were a number of breakdowns. As Mr. Volcker pointed out, responsibility for those is collective. It fell above all to the Iraqi regime itself, but also to other players in the programme. All of us must now draw the appropriate lessons from the experience. In that regard, we note the recommendations in the preface of Mr. Volcker's report. We have every confidence in the United Nations ability to learn lessons from the report and to address

the dysfunction's highlighted by the Committee's inquiry.

Finally, we note that the Committee's report underscores the importance of achieving successful United Nations reform at the forthcoming summit meeting of the General Assembly. France shares that concern and reaffirms its determination to ensure that the summit will be a venue for in-depth reform of the Organization so that it may more effectively address the challenges currently facing the international community.

Mr. Mayoral (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, may I thank Mr. Paul Volcker for introducing the report of the Independent Inquiry Committee into the United Nations Oil-for-Food Programme.

I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his important statement early in this meeting.

The clearest indication of the good work done by Mr. Volcker and his colleagues, Mr. Goldstone and Mr. Pieth, is the very lengthy report before us. Given that we obviously have not yet had time to study that very complex document, our immediate reaction here can be only preliminary. Once we have thoroughly analysed it and the conclusions and recommendations it contains, we shall comment further.

In our view, the conclusions presented by Mr. Volcker are extremely important and deserve thorough study, not only by the Security Council and the Secretariat, but also by the General Assembly, the agencies of the United Nations system, and, of course, each and every State Member of the Organization.

We continue to believe that, despite all its constraints, the oil-for-food programme was successful in alleviating the humanitarian crisis in Iraq over a number of years. It helped to provide food and medicine to innocent and vulnerable civilians. Unfortunately, as the report indicates, the programme was manipulated by Saddam Hussein's regime for political and economic benefit. Private companies also manipulated it, and we await a more detailed report on that aspect when the Committee completes its work.

The benefits to Saddam Hussein's regime were made possible, as has been noted here, by the many breakdowns in administration, planning, auditing and supervision on the part of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat. The Security Council also clearly bore a certain degree of responsibility in that respect, particularly on the part of its most influential members, which allowed their attention to and management of an extremely sophisticated and unwieldy programme to be distracted.

However, we believe that is all in the past. It seems important to us to think now about the future and to act collectively in the implementation of in-depth reforms that will make it possible in the future to solve the problems identified by the Committee so as to avoid the recurrence of this kind of situation.

However, based on what he have just heard, we think it is important to underscore the fact that that reform, like all reforms that the United Nations should carry out, is a responsibility of all Member States — all the Member States of the Organization. The Security Council also has a responsibility in that area, and it is for that reason that we are prepared to work within the Council, with the requisite energy, to attempt to restore confidence in the Organization in this extremely important year for its reform. We believe that is the single major undertaking we should carry out at the moment in order to be able to mount future missions with the magnitude and complexity of that attempted by the programme we have been speaking about.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): I wish to thank Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his statement this morning. My delegation also wishes to thank Mr. Paul Volcker for the report and for his briefing on the main findings of the Independent Inquiry Committee on the oil-for-food programme. In view of the comprehensive nature of the document we have received, I shall confine myself to a preliminary reaction.

The complexities involved in executing a multibillion-dollar programme throughout the better part of a decade of work recommend careful scrutiny and consideration of the findings published by the Committee. We trust those findings will shed light on the numerous allegations of mismanagement and other accusations relating to the oil-for-food programme. We remain hopeful that they can provide definite answers to doubts and suspicions regarding this matter.

My delegation believes that the report should be approached in a forward-looking, systematic manner to promote, on the basis of its findings and recommendations, the establishment of adequate oversight mechanisms able to ensure that the ascertained wrongdoings and mismanagement will not

happen in the future. It must be kept in mind, however, that the oil-for-food programme was unanimously established by the Security Council and that it achieved its aims of providing essential humanitarian assistance to the needy population of Iraq under international sanctions and in other difficult situations.

Currently, all attention is directed towards preparations necessary to make the upcoming high-level plenary event a success. With little more than a week to go before the event, we are all engaged in delicate, complex negotiations to ensure that the summit's outcome will be commensurate with its dimensions as the greatest gathering of world leaders, perhaps in all time. All efforts, therefore, should be made to ensure that the issuing of the report at this particular time does not have the unintended effect of diverting attention away from the high-level plenary event. Conversely, the imminence of the summit must also not lead to a less-than-ideal consideration of the findings of the report itself.

As far as the work of the Committee is concerned, my delegation is very interested in receiving the upcoming report focusing on the private companies involved in the oil-for-food programme. It will contribute an important — perhaps indispensable — dimension for the correct assessment of the shortcomings of the programme.

Ms. Løj (Denmark): I too wish to thank Mr. Volcker for his briefing and his introduction of the report of the Independent Inquiry Committee. Likewise, I thank the Secretary-General for his important statement.

During the coming days, Denmark will study the wide-ranging findings and conclusions of the report. We look forward to further discussions of the report. However, our preliminary reaction is the following.

As expected, the report points to various deficiencies in the management structures, administrative procedures and accountability mechanisms of the United Nations, which led to serious incidents of abuse and corruption in the oil-for-food programme. The report also makes clear that the responsibility for the shortcomings of the programme must be widely shared among Member States, private companies and United Nations personnel. However, it must not be overlooked that the report underlines that the programme did contribute significantly to alleviating the humanitarian suffering of the Iraqi people. But, likewise, the report also underlines the importance of successful administrative reform of the United Nations.

Denmark has long supported proposals to reform the management of the Organization. If the United Nations is to have full credibility, it must have a transparent, effective and accountable system for managing its resources. We therefore note the Commission's focus on the need for thorough administrative reform and more reliable controls and auditing, as well as strong executive leadership. The responsibility to ensure that rests with the Member States of the Organization — members of the Security Council as well as members of the General Assembly. The time has come, and it is short, for bold decisions on reform of the management of the United Nations. The summit next week must take such a decision.

Mr. Vassilakis (Greece): The last two years have definitely been very difficult for the Secretary-General. But we all followed his courage, determination and candidness in presenting suggestions and making changes, starting with the appointment of the Independent Inquiry Committee. I think his statement today proves what I just said.

We thank Mr. Volcker and the other members of the Committee for today's briefing and their submission of the Committee's report to the Security Council. If I had to judge it simply on its size, the report would certainly appear to reflect more than a year's work done by dozens of attorneys, investigators and forensic specialists. However, regardless of the size of the report, what is important is what it contains. As to its contents, we have been given a small insight by both the preface, which was posted yesterday on the web page of the Independent Inquiry Committee, and Mr. Volcker's briefing this morning.

It is understandable that, in order to do justice to the extensive work done by the Committee as well as in order to draw possible lessons for the future, we have to study the report carefully and scrupulously examine the findings contained therein. Needless to say, that will take some time, but no matter how long it takes, something needs to be done, and in a coherent and level-headed manner.

We must not be too quick to draw conclusions under pressure as to whether the credibility of the United Nations has been seriously undermined by the workings of the oil-for-food programme. One should

not forget that, as the Committee states, the programme served well the nutrition and health needs of the Iraqi people, which were disregarded so much and so continuously by Saddam. At the same time, the programme prevented Saddam from acquiring weapons of mass destruction.

I suspect that much of what is contained in the report reflects essentially the nature of the beast — that is, the nature of the United Nations itself. We must not forget that the United Nations is a unique Organization, unlike any other in the world. It is the sum of all its parts, and its parts include, inter alia, 191 sovereign Member States and countless different bodies, specialized agencies, commissions, and so on.

The inquiry into the oil-for-food programme provides us with valuable information as to how we can improve the workings of this common Organization. I am confident that all of us will take those findings into serious consideration in our shared desire to ensure that the optimum effectiveness of the Organization in all areas — especially in the fields of management, transparency and accountability — is being realized as we all strive to do in our respective countries.

Mr. Motoc (Romania): My delegation, too, commends Chairman Volcker and his team for the impressive work carried out in record time to review the management of the oil-for-food programme, the most complex humanitarian programme ever entrusted to and managed by the United Nations.

In April 2004, the Council proceeded to adopt resolution 1538 (2004), expressing support for the Secretary-General's initiative to appoint this panel. On the one hand, we were guided at that time by what we perceived to be a common interest of us all: to achieve maximum clarity and to shed light on delegations' concerns related to the management of the oil-for-food programme. On the other hand, we trusted that the outstanding credentials of Mr. Volcker and his colleagues would ensure the high standards of impartiality, independence and professionalism that one would expect from that truly exceptional inquiry.

We have read the executive summary of the massive report and we have noted that the overall investigation has come to "unambiguous conclusions". We cannot be expected, however, to have become fully acquainted with the findings of the final report, the grounds for those findings and, least of all, the entire range of political, legal and organizational implications of those findings. I will therefore make only a couple of preliminary points based on aspects that appear to be manifest already at this early juncture.

First, as highlighted in the previous interim reports, several key factors combined to produce shortcomings and failures in the management of the oil-for-food programme: the primary role of the former Iraqi regime in turning the programme to its own advantage; the endemic corruption prevailing on the ground; the absence of an adequate checks, controls and auditing mechanism within the United Nations system; individual acts of corruption and malfeasance within the Secretariat; and the imperfections of the Security Council-imposed sanctions, as well as their uneven implementation by Member States. However, we should not overlook the fact that the programme did achieve positive results in a difficult attempt to reconcile and balance tough sanctions with the needed supply of humanitarian goods for the Iraqi people.

Secondly, the final report indicates that the Organization and the Secretariat "were simply not fit to meet the truly extraordinary challenges presented by the oil-for-food programme or even programmes of much lesser scope".

Thirdly, the inquiry has, in our view, held the Organization to very high and egregious standards of accountability. Of course, we cannot settle for anything less for an Organization that is expected to be a beacon of our joint endeavours in the world. We cannot, on the other hand, be unfair and overlook the very complex context in which the reported failures occurred, just as we cannot overlook the unprecedented nature and magnitude of the oil-for-food programme.

The findings of the Inquiry Committee signal once again the urgent need for United Nations reform to embrace the need to establish new organizational ethics and standards within the Organization. Although preliminary, the look we are now taking at the report before us conveys a strong argument for keeping up the momentum for United Nations reform, including with respect to the issue of the Organization's internal management. It is true that that is not within the sole purview of the Security Council, and it is up to the United Nations system as a whole to draw upon the findings of the Volcker report.

The findings do, however, have evident implications for the future undertakings — both

political and operational — of this important body. My delegation is prepared to further pursue the examination of the full range of implications deriving from the important document now in our hands. In doing that, we feel bound to bear in mind a very precise definition of what the Security Council stands for within the United Nations system and of its responsibilities and connections with regard to both the oil-for-food programme and the investigation just concluded.

Mr. Zhang Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I should like at the outset to thank Mr. Volcker for his briefing and the Secretary-General for his statement.

China appreciates the work of the Independent Inquiry Committee over the past year. We believe that the inquiry will enable all parties to better understand the problems that occurred in the oil-for-food programme. The report just presented by Mr. Volcker contains more than 1,000 pages involving a series of recommendations and important issues. China will study the report closely, and we look forward to future Council discussion of it.

Mr. Aho-Glele (Benin) (*spoke in French*): We thank you, Sir, for having convened this meeting to enable us to exchange views on the publication of the final report of the Independent Inquiry Committee, established by the Secretary-General to look into allegations of embezzlement related to the oil-for-food programme.

My delegation congratulates Mr. Volcker and his entire team on presenting the report, in which Benin takes great interest. Now that the report has been issued, United Nations Member States should study it with all due attention so that they can draw lessons from it and undertake the necessary reform of the relevant United Nations structures. While we believe that the report must be studied closely, it is currently available only in English. We hope that it will shortly be available in all other United Nations languages.

Thus, my delegation is not in a position to express its views on the substance, but at this preliminary stage, Benin would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for the far-sightedness and the courage that he demonstrated in first commissioning the Independent Inquiry Committee and for his determination throughout the process to act in a transparent fashion with respect to this matter, which, we must acknowledge, is highly sensitive.

Benin also welcomes the initiative of the Secretary-General to promote a new ethic in the management of the Secretariat. The failings revealed in the functioning of the structures concerned and in the coordination and cooperation among the various organs of the United Nations provide lessons that justify the reforms now under discussion. Measures advocated by the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly in that regard are very encouraging.

We welcome the invaluable contribution of the programme to alleviating the suffering of the Iraqi people under the weight of economic sanctions. That key objective having been achieved, Benin believes that we must now all seek appropriate solutions to the shortcomings identified and avoid diverting our attention from the imperatives of democratizing and strengthening our Organization.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Philippines.

We join the other members of the Security Council in thanking the Secretary-General for his important statement. We are also grateful to Mr. Volcker for presenting to the Security Council the Committee's final report on the oil-for-food programme.

The programme was admittedly the largest, most complex and most ambitious humanitarian relief operation in the history of the United Nations. It is therefore natural that an assessment or evaluation of a programme of that magnitude would require an elaborate process. It is also understandable that a project of that scope would produce a voluminous outcome document to highlight its multifarious aspects, ranging from programme management and administration to programme effectiveness. Given the complexity of the programme — not to mention the lengthy report that documents it — we certainly need more time to further study the many findings and recommendations that Mr. Volcker and his group have suggested in the report.

However, it is timely that this report should come at this stage, when the whole of the United Nations is busy talking about reform. The reform of the United Nations is one of the things that the report calls for in order to improve the Organization's overall effectiveness in the future, given the upsurge of threats and challenges that the Organization faces. It is that same reform that the Secretary-General has advocated

in his "In larger freedom" report. More important, it is also the reform of the United Nations system that the High-level Plenary Meeting will discuss next week. In short, this is a question of urgent reform, and the time for that reform, as the Volcker report has rightly put it, is now.

As the whole of the United Nations reviews the overall management system, it is important to ensure that appropriate reform measures be put in place and incorporated into a draft outcome document that our leaders can adopt in a week's time.

With respect to the subject of reforms, the Philippines commends the Secretary-General for initiating the whole reform process of the United Nations even before the creation of the Independent Inquiry Committee to review the oil-for-food programme.

The Philippines is confident that many of the recommendations, as well as the lessons learned from the report, will serve very well as substantial inputs for the ongoing reform process of the United Nations.

I resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Iraq.

Mr. Sumaida'ie (Iraq): I thank you, Sir, for allowing Iraq to participate in this meeting. I did not realize until I arrived here that I had the right to speak, so, I did not prepare a statement, but if you allow me, I will make some brief remarks based on what I have heard.

First, I would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Volcker and his team for the very thorough and extensive inquiry that they have conducted. I would also like to express my thanks to the Secretary-General for his remarks and say that it is very much to his credit that he commissioned the inquiry in the first place.

In taking control of oil revenues in Iraq to run the oil-for-food programme, the Security Council in effect appointed itself the guardian of the Iraqis' wealth. Therefore, it had a responsibility to discharge that function, together with the Secretariat. From all the conclusions that have been reached by the Volcker Committee, it is very clear that the Iraqi people have not received full value for their money. For various reasons, they were robbed of a great deal of what was theirs by right. The lessons will continue to be studied and various actions will be taken, but that loss is permanent. Thus, at the end of the day, the Iraqis paid the price for whatever failings and shortcomings arose.

It is also clear that the main beneficiary of the recommendations of the Volcker Committee is, in fact, the United Nations, because the report has pointed to systemic shortcomings and problems that had to, and have to, be put right. All the speeches that we have heard today echo that conclusion. Indeed, the Secretary-General has clearly stated that that is now one of his central objectives.

For some reason, however, Iraq had to pay the bill for arriving at this point. We were the people who paid for the Volcker Committee; we protested. I must say that, regrettably, that was decided with the tacit consent of the Security Council and implemented by the Secretary-General.

Now we have to think of the future. We will go forward and, hopefully, turn the conclusions of the Volcker Committee into action that will rebuild the credibility of the United Nations, which we all need. Iraq is a proud founding Member of the United Nations and dearly wants the United Nations to continue to play its great role in the world and in Iraq itself.

Therefore, thinking forward, I would call upon the Council to consider the formation of a nucleus or group — perhaps a small part of the Volcker team itself — this time funded by the United Nations, to help Iraq pursue assets belonging to it that have been dispersed, let us say, through the oil-for-food programme. The Volcker Committee has, I believe, identified many, many ways in which assets have been taken away from Iraq. Some of those assets could be retrieved if we all cooperate in a systematic way. I hope that that will be taken up by the Council. We remain ready to work with any member of the Security Council to make that happen. That would, at least to some extent, recompense Iraq for some of its losses.

I would like to thank you, Sir, for having given me the opportunity to speak, and I hope my remarks lead to some concrete actions.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

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Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5257th (closed) meeting of the Security Council held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 9 September 2005, at 9.40 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 9 September 2005, the Security Council, pursuant to resolution 1353 (2001), annex II, sections A and B, held its 5257th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE).

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Ethiopia and Eritrea.

05-48518 (E) 090905

United Nations S/PV.5258

Security Council

Distr.: General
12 September 2005

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5258th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Monday, 12 September 2005, at 10 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 12 September 2005, the Security Council, pursuant to resolution 1353 (2001), annex II, sections A and B, held its 5258th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Liberia.

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Liberia heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Alan Doss, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Liberia.

"Members of the Council, Mr. Doss and representatives of participating troop-contributing countries had a constructive exchange of views."

05-48633 (E) 120905

United Nations S/PV.5259

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5259th meeting

Tuesday, 13 September 2005, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Djeffal
	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Denmark	Mr. Christensen
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Davis
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Salaita
	United States of America	Mr. Brencick

Agenda

The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia

Report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea (S/2005/553 and Add.1)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-50902 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia

Report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea (S/2005/553 and Add.1)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea, document S/2005/553 and addendum 1. Members also have before them document S/2005/569, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1622 (2005).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.15 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5260

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5260th meeting

Tuesday, 13 September 2005, 10.15 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Djeffal
	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Denmark	Mr. Faaborg-Andersen
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Davis
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Salaita
	United States of America	Mr. Brencick

Agenda

The situation in Afghanistan

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-50908 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Afghanistan

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Afghanistan, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the members of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Abdullah Abdullâh, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abdullâh (Afghanistan), took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2005/576, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I wish to draw the attention of members to document S/2005/574, containing the text of a letter dated 9 September 2005 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1623 (2005).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 10.20 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5261

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5261st meeting

Wednesday, 14 September 2005, 11.20 a.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Macapagal-Arroyo	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Bouteflika
	Argentina	Mr. Kirchner
	Benin	Mr. Kérékou
	Brazil	Mr. Da Silva
	China	Mr. Hu Jintao
	Denmark	Mr. Rasmussen
	France	Mr. de Villepin
	Greece	Mr. Karamanlis
	Japan	Mr. Machimura
	Romania	Mr. Basescu
	Russian Federation	Mr. Putin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Blair
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Mkapa
	United States of America	Mr. Bush

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-51034 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security

The President: I am pleased to acknowledge the participation in this summit meeting of the Security Council of heads of State or Government, Ministers for Foreign Affairs and other distinguished representatives of Security Council member States. We all greatly appreciate the spirit of cooperation that has motivated, and imbues, this very important meeting.

I would like to take this opportunity to express our deepest concern and sympathy to the American people, led by President Bush, for the loss of life and damage to property inflicted by Hurricane Katrina. We are all confident that America will overcome that natural disaster. It is manmade disasters, like terrorism and conflict, that continue to elude a comprehensive solution.

The United Nations Charter was born because of conflict, and its job continues to be, among other things, to prevent conflict. Although the Charter did not foresee the threat of terror in its form today, it is adequate to provide appropriate means to meet that challenge through the Security Council.

In Madrid last March, the Secretary-General acknowledged the need for a principled and comprehensive strategy to fight terrorism globally. Our job in this body today is to adopt a resolution to support that comprehensive strategy, as well as a resolution concerning the prevention of conflict, especially in Africa. Because we are the only body in the United Nations whose resolutions are binding on Member States, the Council must provide the leadership for effective solutions to the problems of terrorism and conflict.

The Security Council meeting at the summit level will now begin its consideration of the question of threats to international peace and security. Members of the Council have before them documents S/2005/577 and S/2005/578, which contain the texts of two draft resolutions prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

In accordance with the understanding reached earlier among members, the Security Council will take action on the two draft resolutions before it, prior to hearing statements from the Secretary-General and Council members. Accordingly, I shall now put the two draft resolutions to the vote, one after the other.

I shall first put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/2005/577, which concerns the prevention of incitement to terrorism.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1624 (2005).

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/2005/578, which concerns the prevention of conflict, particularly in Africa.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1625 (2005).

I now invite the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: I am honoured to be with you today. The subject you are debating — threats to peace and security — is a broad and complex one. There are any number of aspects fully deserving of your attention, including the need to prevent conflict in Africa. On the latter, crucial issue, I consider it thoroughly appropriate that at this summit you have reflected the priority it deserves, as is the case in the daily work of the Security Council.

On this occasion I will focus my remarks on efforts to combat international terrorism in all its forms. Terrorism constitutes a direct attack on the values for which the United Nations stands: the rule of

law, the protection of civilians, the peaceful resolution of conflicts and mutual respect among people of different faiths and cultures.

We must be at the forefront of the fight against terrorism. That is why, this year, on the anniversary of the Madrid bombings, I proposed, as you heard earlier, a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy for the United Nations.

I am heartened that the world summit outcome document (General Assembly resolution 59/314, annex) has welcomed elements of that strategy and has committed to their early consideration at the sixtieth session of the General Assembly. The strategy consists of actions in five areas.

First, we must work to dissuade disaffected groups from choosing terrorism as a tactic. That means that the international community should complete a comprehensive convention that outlaws terrorism in all its forms. It also means that civil society and religious leaders must raise their voices against terrorism. We must all make clear, as all Member States affirm in the summit document, that terrorism, "committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes" (Ibid., para. 81), can never be accepted or justified.

Secondly, we must deny terrorists the means — above all, weapons of mass destruction — to carry out their attacks. The ongoing implementation of Security Council resolutions is critical. Five months ago, the General Assembly reached a milestone by approving the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism. I hope States will accede to that convention without delay.

Thirdly, we must deter States from supporting terrorists. All States must know that if they provide support for terrorists in any form, this Council will not hesitate to take coercive measures against them.

Fourthly, we must develop State capacity to prevent terrorism. That includes promoting good governance and the rule of law. In that context, I welcome the establishment of the United Nations Democracy Fund, and I thank the nearly 30 States that have provided it with generous support.

Fifthly, we must defend human rights. That is essential if we are to prevent terrorists from unravelling the very fabric of the societies they attack.

Finally, let us never forget the victims of terrorism. The Council has agreed to explore the possibility of an international fund to compensate victims and their families, to be financed in part with assets seized from terrorist organizations. I hope you will give this your active consideration.

I hope too that you will give your full backing to all points of the strategy I have outlined. Let us ensure that the United Nations plays its role in this fight to the full.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I now give the floor to the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency Mr. Benjamin William Mkapa.

President Mkapa: This is one of the rare moments when the Security Council is meeting at the summit level, and I thank you very much, Madam President, for organizing this historic meeting.

Terrorism, violence and conflict top the list of current threats to international and regional peace and security. Terrorism and conflicts undermine the social and economic development of all States and threaten global stability, security and prosperity.

It is important that the Security Council, as the custodian of international peace and security, address not only those threats, but also their underlying causes. We must not only manage and resolve conflicts, but also, and especially, we have to prevent conflicts and terrorist acts.

Symptoms have their causes, and unless causes are addressed and understood, symptoms will not go away. When affected people do not see light at the end of the tunnel, when they lose all hope, then poverty, injustice and exclusion become fertile grounds for crime, violence and, yes, even terrorism.

While we may not have a common definition and understanding of terrorism, I do not think that we have disagreements about its impact upon our societies. However one defines it, terrorism and conflicts always elicit, by design or in consequence, the common characteristics of anxiety, suspense, fear, senselessness, violence, destruction and the disruption of the social and economic situation of our countries and peoples.

My country has experienced in practical terms the negative impact of both terrorism and conflict. We

were the direct victims of terrorism when, in 1998, the United States embassy in Dar es Salaam was attacked by terrorists, resulting in the loss of Tanzanian lives, human injuries and the destruction of property.

At the same time, my country is situated in a neighbourhood that has a long history of deadly and destabilizing conflicts. We know what such conflicts can do to people. We have lived their spill-over effects; we still are living them. As a country and a region, we have tried our level best to address them, and we are continuing to do so. The United Nations has been very helpful to us in our efforts to resolve conflicts in the Great Lakes Region. Its contribution was particularly useful in the organization of the first International Conference on the Great Lakes Region in Dar es Salaam last year.

In the context of this regional development, we fervently affirm that the focus on terrorism and conflict is not misplaced. In the spirit of multilateralism, we should use this opportunity to underline the importance of strengthening the United Nations role in preventing and combating terrorism and conflict. We need to agree on and pursue an effective strategy that will legitimately and comprehensively address the root causes and underlying conditions of terrorism and conflict. That calls for a holistic approach to prevention, one that addresses and recognizes the nexus of and the linkages between development and security.

Terrorism is evil and despicable. There should be no room for equivocation or inaction. Violent conflicts are evil and preventable. Let us summon the will and the resources to build an effective global partnership between States and institutions that will work in unison to prevent and combat terrorism and violent conflicts.

The President: I thank President Mkapa for his statement.

I invite the President of the Russian Federation, His Excellency Mr. Vladimir Putin, to take the floor.

President Putin (*spoke in Russian*): May I say first of all that Russia attaches particular importance to today's Security Council summit meeting. In gathering here we are not only demonstrating our shared responsibility and solidarity in combating the global terrorist threat; it is of fundamental importance that it is precisely the United Nations and the Security Council that can become the coordinating centre, the headquarters for the international antiterrorist front. It is here, today, that the most important ideological, political and organizational foundations for the fight against terrorism are being formulated. Russia welcomes this approach and is ready to act to strengthen the central role of the United Nations in insuring international security and stability.

The Security Council resolution adopted at the initiative of the United Kingdom reflects the lessons learned in this war against terrorism and sets forth new substantive tasks, including the need to end incitement to terrorism. I believe that such actions must be qualified as criminal by all States, without exception.

Our common task is to create a truly solid front in the fight against this evil. Any attempts to condone terrorism, to flirt with terrorists or to use them for different political purposes must be condemned unanimously. Those who advocate terrorism, propagate the ideologies of racism and ethnic or religious intolerance must be fought, using not only the power of the State but also engaging civil society, the mass media, cultural and humanitarian cooperation and interreligious dialogue.

On behalf of my country I have just signed the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism. As is known, it was Russia that initiated that document, and we would like to thank our partners for their support. We worked together, and we have now created an efficient legal instrument for tackling this real threat of the possible use of weapons of mass destruction by terrorists.

I believe that at this session of the General Assembly it may well be possible to complete the draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism. The issues of fighting terrorism and its roots, taken as a whole, are questions needing our further cooperation and must, we believe, be permanent items on the agenda of this United Nations, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies.

The Russian Federation is deeply convinced of the need to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in preventing armed conflict, particularly in Africa. In that connection, we attach great importance to the resolution just adopted by the Council on this matter.

The President: I thank President Putin for his statement.

I invite the Prime Minister of the Hellenic Republic, His Excellency Mr. Kostas Karamanlis, to take the floor.

Mr. Karamanlis: It is a great pleasure for me to attend today's Security Council summit meeting. I would like to congratulate you, Madam President, on the Philippines' assumption of the presidency for the current month.

This is a historic moment for the United Nations, as heads of State and Government are reviewing the implementation of the Millennium Declaration and are considering the future of this Organization.

The end of the cold war ushered in a new era in international relations, which dissipated the threat of military confrontation among the two power blocks. However, the world community still faces violent internal conflicts, civil wars, genocide and other large-scale atrocities that cause immense suffering to millions of people.

Terrorism is undeniably one of the most serious threats to peace and security, menacing the very foundation of our democratic societies. The signing, during the present summit, of the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and the adoption during the sixtieth session of the General Assembly of a comprehensive convention against terrorism are very important steps in the struggle against this scourge.

In this context, it should be stressed that actions to combat terrorism and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms are not mutually exclusive. We fully subscribe to the recent statement of the Secretary-General that "in the long term, we shall find that human rights, along with democracy and social justice, are one of the best prophylactics against terrorism" *(S/PV.4453, p. 3)*. Consequently, we welcome the adoption of a new Security Council resolution on the prohibition of the incitement to commit terrorist acts. We believe that this resolution should not affect established principles relating to freedom of expression and to non-refoulement.

In addressing the deep-rooted structural problems that fuel conflicts, peacebuilding must bridge security and development. Good governance, the rule of law, strong democratic institutions, respect for human rights, development assistance, reform and democratization of the security sector are critical components in reducing today's conflicts.

The United Nations should be strengthened in managing, resolving and preventing conflicts and their recurrence. Early, comprehensive and coherent prevention of conflicts lies at the heart of the United Nations mandate for the maintenance of international peace and security. Integrated and long-term strategies to address the root causes of conflicts are necessary.

In this respect, we fully support the establishment of a Peacebuilding Commission. We also support the adoption of a Security Council resolution on conflict prevention in Africa, the most conflict-ridden continent.

Conflicts within and between States are not the only threat to international peace and security. New threats and challenges are emerging. Extreme poverty in many parts of the world, deadly infectious diseases and environmental degradation have devastating consequences. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is potentially the greatest threat to our societies. Organized crime is another threat that can have destabilizing effects and can fuel civil wars.

All these threats and challenges require a more comprehensive concept of collective security and the strengthening of the United Nations. International regional organizations should also be effective and international treaties should be respected. We believe that this summit offers a unique opportunity to bring about the changes required for a more peaceful and stable world in the twenty-first century.

The President: I thank Prime Minister Karamanlis for his statement.

I invite the President of the United States, His Excellency Mr. George Bush, to take the floor.

President Bush: I would like to express appreciation to all the members of the Security Council for participating in this summit. Our presence here reaffirms the seriousness of the challenges we face and our determination to confront them.

We are meeting just over two months after the terror attacks in London, one year after the terrorist massacre of schoolchildren in Beslan and four years after the terrorist attack in this city. Acts of terrorism like those emerge from a radical ideology that tolerates

no dissent and justifies the murder of innocent people as the best way to achieve its goals.

Today, we supported the resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom that condemns the incitement of terrorist acts and calls on all States to take appropriate steps to end such incitement. I want to thank the Prime Minister and his Government for their hard work on that issue. The United States of America strongly supports the implementation of that resolution.

We have a solemn obligation. We have a solemn obligation to stop terrorism in its early stages. We have a solemn obligation to defend our citizens against terrorism, to attack terrorist networks and deprive them of any safe haven, and to promote an ideology of freedom and tolerance that will refute the dark vision of the terrorists. We must do all we can to disrupt each stage of planning and support for terrorist acts. Each of us must act consistent with past Security Council resolutions to freeze terrorist assets, to deny terrorists freedom of movement by using effective border controls and secure travel documents and to prevent terrorists from acquiring weapons, including weapons of mass destruction. Each of us must act to share information to prevent terrorist attacks before they happen. The United States will continue to work with and through the Security Council to help all nations meet those commitments.

The United States also reaffirms its commitment to support the prevention of unjust armed conflict, particularly in Africa. That is why we joined Algeria, Benin and Tanzania in co-sponsoring today's second important resolution. We support the need to improve the ability of the African Union and subregional organizations to deploy both civilian and military assets to prevent such conflicts. Over the next five years, the United States will provide training for more than 40,000 African peacekeepers as part of a broader initiative by the G-8 countries. We will help train African forces to preserve justice and order in Africa.

Terrorism and armed conflict are not only threats to our security, they are the enemies of development and freedom for millions. I want to thank the members of the Security Council for supporting today's resolutions, to help ensure that the twenty-first century is one of freedom, security and prosperity.

The President: I thank the President of the United States of America for his statement.

The next speaker is the President of the Argentine Republic, His Excellency Mr. Néstor Kirchner.

President Kirchner (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like at the outset to commend you, Madam, and your delegation, for having chosen this subject for today's debate — a subject of the utmost importance for the international agenda.

Unfortunately, it must be acknowledged that today, in spite of the efforts made by the international community through the United Nations, peace and stability in the world are still a distant goal.

From our perspective, threats to peace and security result not only from the criminal activities of terrorists, but also from weapons of mass destruction, violations of human rights and the lack of much-needed participation.

Peace is much more than the absence of conflict. It requires a positive stance and ongoing dynamic action designed to foster dialogue and understanding. Preventing conflict is always better than reacting after a conflict has already broken out, because prevention avoids loss of life and ensures stability, as well as being much less costly. But effective preventive action requires more of us. It requires us to respond in a just manner to longstanding disputes and injustice, to the deepest and most abject poverty, hunger and terrible pandemics such as those affecting Africa. This is also an important issue for Latin America.

Such instability highlights what must be the dominant agenda for Security Council action. Within that context, it is necessary to understand that peace is preserved through the participation of all nations and peoples. Those who take shelter behind their own security are forgetting that this is no longer the twentieth century; they should know that a threat to one will, sooner or later, also affect all — including those who believe themselves to be safe. These new threats make us understand at last the true meaning of solidarity among nations.

Terrorism is a threat to life and human dignity, an affront to civilization and humankind. Argentina regards all terrorist acts as criminal and unjustifiable. No ethnic, religious, ideological or other motivation can justify the slaughter of innocent civilians.

The Argentine people express their full solidarity with the victims of terrorism throughout the world and with their families. We experienced two terrible

terrorist attacks during the 1990s — against the Israeli embassy and against the headquarters of the Argentine-Israeli Mutual Association. We share the pain and despair of those who suffered as a result. That is still an open wound at the heart of our society.

We know that in order to tackle terrorism successfully, our response must be legitimate and must have the support of the international community. This requires us to look at the problem from a broader perspective; the response cannot be purely military or unilateral in nature. We must understand — and make sure that others understand — that peace and development are mutually reinforcing. We must stress the close relationship between respect for human rights and the fight against terrorism.

Terrorist acts can no longer be considered national or transnational crimes; they are a threat to international peace and security. The vulnerability of all nations — large and small, rich or poor — demands international action that is intelligent, coordinated and sustainable, based on legitimacy, respect for human rights, proportionate response and the support of international public opinion.

In combating terrorism we must ensure respect for international law, human rights and international humanitarian law, as well as refugee law. When we respond to specific events, it is in the defence of individuals and their rights that the raison d'etre of this Organization and its Member nations is revealed.

Argentina fully cooperates with the Counter-Terrorism Committee set up by resolution 1373 (2001), as well as the Committee set up pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999).

The General Assembly is also doing outstanding work in the area of combating terrorism. We must encourage that and take it further. Recently, after years of efforts, the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism was adopted, and we hope that the comprehensive convention against terrorism will soon be adopted.

International cooperation is vital. Judicial cooperation — that is, extradition and mutual legal assistance — is fundamental, because if it does not work properly, any norm or antiterrorist legal regime will be rendered ineffective and illusory.

Combating the financing of terrorism is also essential. Pursuant to Security Council resolutions, States need to strengthen and maximize their cooperation to prevent funds from being used in support of acts of terrorism and terrorist groups, freezing such funds by means of effective arrangements.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the danger of their falling into the hands of terrorists is one of the greatest threats to international peace and security. Argentina, which is the only Latin American country that is party to the five non-proliferation regimes, attaches great importance to resolution 1540 (2004). The international community has made commendable efforts to curb terrorism, responding to a challenge to all of humankind. In this context, Argentina reaffirms its readiness to work together with the rest of the world to combat this scourge. If we are to be successful, we must also energetically confront unresolved conflicts and deal with situations of deep-seated injustice, social exclusion, extreme poverty, famine and illiteracy.

In other words, we must address, in a comprehensive way, all threats to international peace and security; that is the only way to ensure that the Council properly fulfils its mandate. As recent events show, working for peace is not an easy task. There are many conditions that have to be met. But above all, we need a commitment to collective political action. The United Nations was created on the basis of the resolve of all States that collective action was the only basis for taking measures to maintain international peace and security.

The Security Council was created to maintain peace and prevent wars, those manmade disasters that are born in the human heart, when humankind observed with incredulity the great savagery and brutality that had occurred.

Today, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the dynamics of international relations demand, more obviously than ever before, that we make multilateral mechanisms stronger and more robust as appropriate means to preserve international peace and security and that we respond in a balanced manner to the situation of global instability confronting us.

Firmly attached to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, we are convinced of the need to build consensus aimed at strengthening international law and promoting universal values associated with peace and security, representative democracy and

respect for human rights. We believe it is essential, if that vision is to be effective, to have a Security Council whose actions and legitimacy cannot be called into question.

The strengthening of multilateralism — a crucial principle of collective security — requires a constant search for agreed responses. Argentina will continue to play its role in that important process. Therefore, Argentina calls for reform of the multilateral system that will result in true strengthening of the United Nations, which reform is essential if the Organization is to carry out its functions of maintaining international peace and security, promoting social and economic development and eradicating hunger and poverty.

It is imperative that we take an all-inclusive approach to reform of the Organization, one based on development, security and full respect for human rights. We must consider all issues that might affect those elements, including violence and massive human rights violations, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, organized crime, poverty and disease, as well as a general concern with regard to unilateralism, the continuance of trade barriers in developed countries and the inequities characterizing the current international financial system.

We must recognize that much remains to be done, particularly given the terrible situation of social problems facing the international community. But there is also much that can be done to lessen the effects of the evils we face. We must mobilize ourselves to fight for the defence and dignity of the human person.

We are convinced that today's world can accommodate different civilizations and different religions. There can be no cultural leadership imposed by force. We firmly defend diversity and plurality. There will be no peace without justice. Defending human rights must be at the heart of our agenda. In this fight, we will be fulfilling our moral obligation and our duty to future generations.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the President of Argentina for his statement.

(*spoke in English*)

The next speaker is the President of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Hu Jintao.

President Hu (*spoke in Chinese*): It gives me great pleasure to attend this historic meeting, Madam President. I highly appreciate the efforts of the Philippines and your own efforts in organizing it.

Sixty years ago, the Member States of the newly founded United Nations entrusted the Security Council with the mandate of maintaining international peace and security. The past decades have shown that the Council has indeed had an irreplaceable role in resolving major global and regional issues affecting world peace and security. In order to maintain peace, we should make sure that the Security Council is able to carry out its Charter responsibilities properly.

First, we should uphold the Council's authority by adhering to multilateralism. Only by strengthening multilateral cooperation, enhancing the role of the United Nations and maintaining the authority of the Security Council, in particular, can we effectively cope with increasing global threats and challenges and truly achieve universal security. With regard to major issues affecting world peace and security, the Council should be allowed to judge the merits of the actual situation and act collectively in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Secondly, we should improve the Security Council's efficiency so that it can respond more effectively to threats. The Council needs a rapid response capacity. Moreover, it should address both the symptoms and the root causes of problems by formulating a comprehensive strategy featuring prevention, peace restoration, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction. Coercive measures alone will not solve a problem once and for all; what is achieved through dialogue and negotiation may last much longer. China supports an important role for the Security Council in responding to terrorism and other non-traditional threats to security. We also support closer cooperation between the United Nations and other international and regional organizations with a view to sharing resources, advantages and responsibilities.

As terrorism poses a serious threat to world peace and security, the international community should act in strict accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and should work together closely in a more effective fight against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. It is essential to promote dialogue among civilizations and to earnestly address problems such as poverty, ignorance and social injustice in order to eliminate the breeding grounds for terrorism.

Thirdly, we should pay closer attention to African concerns and increase the Council's commitment accordingly. This meeting should renew our pledges to Africa and should encourage the Council to increase its input in Africa, to listen more attentively to the concerns and proposals of African countries and to take fully into account their fervent desire for peace, development and cooperation so that hundreds of millions of African people can truly benefit from the care and support of the international community.

China is prepared to work with other Member States in advancing the lofty goals of peace and development for all mankind.

The President: I thank the President of China for his statement.

The next speaker is the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, His Excellency Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika.

President Bouteflika (*spoke in Arabic*): This very special Security Council meeting cannot be completely isolated from the current discussion of reform of the United Nations system. However, I do not believe that we need to address that issue today as we deal with the problems of collective security.

No one would dream of questioning what has now become self-evident: there is a link between development and peace — peace and respect for the rule of law. The mission of the United Nations quite rightly goes beyond the maintenance of international peace and security to include the promotion of economic and social development, friendly relations among States based on respect for their sovereign equality and the right of peoples to self-determination. The Security Council has a primary, but not exclusive, responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations.

We would like to reiterate once again that we condemn all manifestations of terrorism. It is within the United Nations that we must all work together to combat it. Accordingly, the draft comprehensive convention on terrorism should be completed as soon as possible to fill the lacunae that remain with regard to terrorism-related activities not yet covered by existing international instruments. There must also be an agreed definition of terrorism that will avoid any confusion between terrorism and the legitimate struggle of peoples for self-determination, a struggle which is covered by international law and international humanitarian law.

The negative impact of globalization is another issue that must be addressed. All international bodies must strive to promote cooperation and exchange information in combating terrorism. Africa's commitment to fighting terrorism is crystal-clear; as exemplified by the Algiers Convention. Our commitment to eradicating terrorism has enabled Algeria to address the phenomenon comprehensively.

Having emerged from a crisis that did not prevent us from pursuing that campaign, we have now restored peace to our cities and countryside and repaired the fabric of our society by encouraging the social reintegration of those who were misled by false propaganda. We have adopted a national reconciliation policy and a referendum is to be held on 29 September in our country. That is our commitment.

The President: I thank the President of Algeria for his important statement.

I now give the floor to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, His Excellency the Right Honourable Tony Blair.

Mr. Blair (United Kingdom): First of all, on behalf of the United Kingdom, let me thank everyone for supporting today's resolution.

We should not underestimate what we face. The terrorism that today again has claimed the lives of innocent people — this time, queuing for jobs in Iraq — and has now disfigured countries in every continent, at every stage of development, with every conceivable mix of races and religions, is a movement. It has an ideology and it has a strategy, and the strategy is not just to kill. It is, by terror, to cause chaos and instability and to divide and confuse us, its enemy.

It will not be defeated until our determination is as complete as theirs, our defence of freedom as absolute as their fanaticism, our passion for the democratic way as great as their passion for tyranny. It will not be defeated until we unite not just in condemning the acts of terrorism, which we all do, but in fighting the poisonous propaganda that the root cause of this terrorism somehow lies with us around this table and not with them. They want us to believe that, somehow, it is our fault and that their extremism is somehow our responsibility. They play on our

divisions; they exploit our hesitations. This is our weakness, and they know it.

We must unite against this ghastly game with our conscience. There are real injustices in our world: poverty, which it is our duty to eradicate; conflicts, not least that between Israel and Palestine, which it is our duty to help resolve; and nation-building, as in Iraq and Afghanistan, which it is our responsibility to help deliver.

But none of this has caused this terrorism. Around this table two years ago, we were divided over Iraq, but by June 2003 there was in place a new United Nations resolution and a new United Nations-backed political process to give democracy to Iraqis — which they want, as 8.5 million of them showed by voting for it. The obstacle is terrorism. The victims are largely Muslim. How obscene it is, therefore, for these terrorists to claim that their terror is in response to our aggression against Muslims in Iraq. They use Iraq to divide us, just as they use Afghanistan, where, again, their terror is the obstacle to Afghan democracy; and just as they use Palestine, where terrorism does not create progress, but destroys it.

If not those issues, we must never forget that the events of 11 September 2001, which happened just a short distance from here, were before Iraq or Afghanistan and when there was an active attempt to bring peace to the Middle East. If not those, they will use Chechnya, they will use Kashmir or Bosnia; and if none of those, it will be the Western presence in Arab States. And when all of that fails, those States themselves will be blamed, or any State that is not Talibanized.

The root cause, therefore, is not a decision on foreign policy, however contentious. It is a doctrine of fanaticism, and we must unite to uproot it by cooperating on security, as people have said; by taking action against those who incite, preach or teach this extremism, wherever they are in whichever country; and also by eliminating our own ambivalence by fighting not just the methods of this terrorism, but also the terrorists' motivation, twisted reasoning and wretched excuses for terror.

At the same time, of course, by contrast, we should fulfil our duty to act against injustice. All of us strongly support the resolution on conflict prevention in Africa. We should show our own strength and belief in the values of democracy and tolerance, and, above all, we should demonstrate that the future, however hard the path to it is, does not and never will belong to fanatics, but will be with those who believe that we should live in peace with each other, whatever our race, nation, colour or religion.

They do, indeed, have their strategy, but we have ours, and we should use it to defeat them.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for his important statement.

I now give the floor to the President of the Republic of Benin, His Excellency Mr. Mathieu Kérékou.

President Kérékou (*spoke in French*): We are grateful to you, Madam, for having taken the exceptional opportunity of the commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the United Nations to convene the Security Council to discuss essential matters arising from its statutory powers and functions.

Thanks to the highly commendable initiatives of the Secretary-General, we have a clear picture of the threats and challenges that the Council faces at this decisive juncture in the life of the Organization. The two resolutions that we have just adopted duly reflect our perception of the current threats to international peace and security. Among those threats, terrorism and armed conflict have attained a level of destructiveness that is fraught with consequences. It is therefore up to the Security Council to identify specific and appropriate measures, both at the State level and within the United Nations and the international community as a whole, to enhance prevention.

The terrible attacks of 11 September 2001, the fourth anniversary of which we recently commemorated, proved that the inconceivable is now possible. We welcome the significant progress made by the United Nations in fostering and providing strategic guidance for multilateral cooperation in combating terrorism, in scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of States, international law, and the protection of human rights and humanitarian law.

The activities of the Council's committees have allowed us to devise an effective monitoring apparatus that will enhance the coordination, coherence and efficiency of activities already under way.

As regards the prevention of armed conflict, Council action has been less evident and less visible for reasons that are associated with a certain inertia that is both historical and conceptual in nature. It is important that the Council endow itself with the necessary means to enhance its capacity to act to prevent and eradicate crises in concert with regional and subregional organizations.

The major concern in this area should be to shorten the time frame for coordinated intervention by the international community so as to ensure better protection for populations. The Council should organize itself so as to revitalize the political field of action, mobilizing other parts of the international community with a view to helping to restore normality and working together with local actors, by means of operational, structural and systemic measures at the appropriate level. We are thinking here of the setting up, jointly with regional organizations, as appropriate, of high-level political missions that would make it possible for the Council to bring its full weight to bear on the course of events and to enhance the value of regional initiatives.

We need not wait for the completion of the United Nations reform effort, which seems to be marking time. Beginning right now, the arrangements for preventive diplomacy promoted by the Secretary-General should be strengthened by the establishment of new capacities in various regions of the world. In due course, it will be appropriate for the Security Council to put in place a process for regular global risk assessment with a view to evaluating existing threats.

Africa deserves particular attention, given the internal pressures that African countries face as a result of the compound effect of endemic poverty and the globalization of the economy. Rapid response systems need to be strengthened so as to make it possible to identify and interpret correctly the earliest warning signs for the effective prevention of crises and conflicts and to promote stability through the development of integrated strategies.

The Security Council should, whenever necessary, set forth recommendations for coordinated political action by the competent organs of the United Nations and the international community. We believe that in that way the Council will truly be able to move from a culture of reaction to a realistic approach of strategic watchfulness, which will make it possible to monitor risks and better manage crises and, as a result, to prevent acts and events that might result in the breakdown of international peace and security.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Benin for his statement.

The next speaker is the President of Romania, His Excellency Mr. Traian Basescu.

President Basescu: This month of September marks an important moment. This is an opportunity not only to affirm our common objective to make the United Nations work better, but to be a part of its actual reform.

I see a great degree of consistency between the work of the Security Council, which has become more involved in development issues and human rights concerns, and our main deliberations in the High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly. These two meetings should therefore lead to mutually reinforcing conclusions and recommendations. Today's meeting aims to take the international response to acts of terrorism to a new level. That threat is, indeed, the critical security issue at the beginning of this new century and millennium.

The Security Council was remarkably quick in responding to the post-9/11 realities that so dramatically changed our world. Its championing of counter-terrorism as an integral part of its responsibilities towards international peace and security is the most significant feature of its work. Yet the Council's contribution to that global effort is still a work in progress. The recent strikes against London, Sharm el-Sheikh and Baghdad and throughout Bangladesh are reminders that, without an enduring security net, there can be no safe haven.

I would like to make four points relating to Romania's approach to fighting terror.

First, there is no culture and no religion that generates or endorses terrorism. We are at a stage when we are fighting the consequences of terrorism, but seldom its real causes. It has become clear that the world has to face a new ideology — one that respects neither States, nor societies, nor cultures, nor human rights: the ideology of terror. It is my belief that that ideology is the new enemy of humanity.

The solidarity and action of like-minded United Nations Member States could offer us solutions to fight

that threat. The Security Council and the United Nations share a great responsibility in developing such policies.

Defending against security threats is not limited to taking a stand at one's own border, but includes going to where the challenges originate and eradicating them with sustainable action and investment. This is why Romania is working together with its allies and partners in sustaining ongoing stabilization and reconstruction processes in Iraq and Afghanistan. Ours is a significant investment in a wide range of United Nations-mandated and United Nations-authorized operations, and we therefore have a very high stake in their successful outcome.

Secondly, Romania has begun chairing the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004). That resolution is a true attempt to reduce and eventually eliminate the weak spots in our defence against the most worrying form of terrorism: weapons of mass destruction. Reducing proliferation risks should concern all Member States.

Thirdly, the global antiterrorism effort can be sustained only by action taken at the Security Council level. It has to be an undertaking by the United Nations as a whole. Every Member State should be supported in developing belts of defence and proper response capabilities in the face of terrorist threats. In doing so, we should not overlook activities such as the illicit traffic in human beings, arms and drugs, which can fuel the resources of terrorist networks and regional conflicts. In many parts of the world — including two of the regions close to Romania, namely, the Western Balkans and the Black Sea region — that often occurs.

Fourthly, Romania's experience in South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea region indicates that in the case of conflict management, regional action is also decisive in handling responses to transnational threats. Cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations is called for in the field of combating terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Romania is a catalyst for dialogue and cooperation in its region and is keen to share its experience at the international level. During the period of its current mandate in the Security Council, Romania has actively and constantly promoted deeper cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. We believe that the time has come to take global-regional cooperation to its full potential. The international community should be able to address each and every security challenge, anywhere, by better pooling together existing resources and capacities for responding to violence.

The President: I thank the President of Romania for his statement.

The next speaker is the President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, His Excellency Mr. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

President Da Silva (*spoke in Portuguese; English text provided by the delegation*): I would like to congratulate you, Madam President, on the initiative of convening this meeting, which is being held at a critical juncture for the future of the United Nations. Efforts to strengthen the United Nations and its main bodies are being intensified. We need to adapt the Security Council to the political and economic requirements of a world that is undergoing a profound transformation.

This is only the third summit of the Security Council in its 60 years of existence. In 1992, we met to celebrate the end of the East-West confrontation, as new prospects dawned for the Council to act to promote international stability. There were reasons to believe in the future of collective security. In 2000, our summit meeting coincided with brutal acts of violence fuelled by racial and religious intolerance. At that time, we were striving to learn lessons from the civil wars in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and to restore the Organization's capacity to counter massive human rights abuses. Today, we face threats of growing complexity. Both of the resolutions we have just adopted are attempts to respond to those challenges.

Barbaric acts of terrorism continue to be perpetrated against innocent and defenceless people. Combating this scourge demands resolve, yet repression alone will not defeat it. We must prevent terror from breeding in hotbeds of hopelessness. We must reject prejudice and discrimination, whatever their guise or pretext. In combating irrational violence, the best means at our disposal are the promotion of a culture of dialogue, the promotion of development and the unyielding protection of human rights.

The Council must also continue to devote attention to African issues. During my visits to 14 African countries, as well as in contacts maintained

with many African leaders in Brasilia, I have witnessed major institutional and economic progress in the region. The firm political will of African leaders to overcome today's conflicts and to cope with a legacy of dependency has culminated in the establishment of the African Union. Their example should inspire parts of the world that are working towards integration with the international community in a sovereign and peaceful manner.

In Haiti, Latin America wants to prove that the United Nations is not condemned to merely clean up the wreckage of conflicts it could not prevent. The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti offers a new paradigm for responding to the challenges of conflict resolution and national reconstruction. We are contributing to the long-term stabilization of the country without resorting to the excessive use of force or to any imposed solution. We encourage dialogue among all political actors and support institutional and economic reconstruction.

The establishment of a Peacebuilding Commission demonstrates that the international community shares that view. Better coordination between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council would ensure that situations such as those in Haiti and Guinea-Bissau are adequately addressed. Those are deep crises in societies that seek to find their way back to development.

With regard to issues such as these, United Nations action is irreplaceable. That is certainly the case with the Middle East conflict, where sensitive political issues need to be resolved with credibility and transparency. In that spirit, Brazil supports the efforts of the Quartet to promote the implementation of the road map to peace.

United Nations reform, now being discussed, cannot be dissociated from restructuring of the Security Council. New responsibilities — many of them not anticipated in the Charter of the United Nations — have arisen as a result of a broader agenda. The Council must stop running such a deficit in transparency and representativity. The values of good governance and the democratic principles that we so cherish at home should lead us to embrace multilateralism and collective decision-making in multilateral institutions. We have before us an historic opportunity to expand the Council in an equitable manner. For the majority of United Nations Member countries, that means expanding the number of Council seats, with developing countries from all regions as both permanent and non-permanent Council members.

I am convinced that there will be no peace or security in the world as long as a billion people are oppressed by hunger. I insist that that evil can be considered the most devastating of all weapons of mass destruction. Hunger and poverty affect people's capacity to work, as well as their health, their dignity and their hopes; they also break down families, tear apart societies and weaken economies. Hunger and poverty fuel a vicious circle of frustration and humiliation that sets the stage for violence, crises and conflicts of all sorts.

I would like to reiterate that, as far as Brazil is concerned, the Council must continue to be the principal international body for the promotion of international peace and security, as defined by the Charter. Brazil will not shirk its responsibilities in promoting the reforms needed to strengthen this institution. A reformed Council will be better equipped to take the lead in facing the complex decisions required at this historic moment.

The President: I thank the President of Brazil for his statement.

The next speaker is the Prime Minister of the Republic of France, His Excellency Mr. Dominique de Villepin.

Mr. De Villepin (France) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of the President of the Republic, Jacques Chirac, I am pleased to bring France's message to the Council.

In the face of discouragement and violence, our world needs unity more than ever before. It requires resolve and a collective endeavour. Such resolve can serve only the general interest and justice; that is the condition for our legitimacy. Such an effort can be undertaken only by all the nations gathered together; that is the condition for our effectiveness.

With 80,000 Blue Helmets, the Security Council is already committed on the ground to ending conflicts, preventing them from spreading, helping with reconstruction. But let us be clear: much remains to be done if we are to meet people's expectations effectively and swiftly. In every crisis, we must affirm true political will to achieve lasting settlements, from Côte d'Ivoire to Darfur to Haiti. Let us collectively

have the courage to shoulder our responsibilities at every stage.

That is also true for the Iraq crisis. The Council, together with the Iraqi authorities, will again have to consider that issue, taking the current realities into account. So much is at stake — particularly the unity of the country, the stability of the region, our collective security.

At the same time, the Security Council must respond to new threats — terrorism, first of all. The attacks that have struck London, Sharm el-Sheikh, Turkey and Israel this summer remind us of that. None of our States is sheltered from that; none has the means to respond to this scourge alone. Our cooperation will be our strength.

The day after 11 September 2001, the Security Council met and took the first measures necessary to track down the terrorists, to combat their financing and to prevent them from possessing weapons of mass destruction.

Today, in the spirit of the global strategy proposed by the Secretary-General, we must go further, with one principle — full respect for the rule of law — because the example set by democracies is our strongest asset in confronting terrorists. We must go further, with one requirement: resolute action with respect to everything that fuels terrorism, including inequality, ongoing violence, injustice, conflict and cultural misunderstanding. Force alone will never defeat terrorism, for it does not address people's frustrations or go to the roots of evil.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction also calls for a determined response on our part. In the nuclear sphere, we have all put our trust in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). There are rights to uphold, in particular the peaceful use of nuclear energy, but there are also duties to enforce, for the security of all. If a State fails in its obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, it is legitimate, once dialogue has been exhausted, to refer it to the Security Council. It is in that spirit that France urges Iran to conform to the resolutions of the IAEA and to comply with its international commitments, first and foremost the Paris Agreement.

The Security Council has a key role to play in international peace and security. Let us strengthen it. Let us be bold enough to enlarge the Security Council to make it more representative. France supports the balanced and realistic proposal presented by Germany, Brazil, India and Japan. In the higher interest of the United Nations, it would like to see an agreement reached on enlargement before the end of the year.

Let us make no mistake: In the face of threats that ignore State borders, the only security is collective security. In the face of scarred identities, the demand for respect and justice is not only a political imperative, but a condition for peace. In the face of the growing inequalities between rich and poor countries, solidarity is a condition for our security. It also requires a commitment from all to promote sustainable development.

Lastly, in the face of the trouble in the world, we need a common vision. The United Nations must act apace with a rapidly changing world; the pain of men and women confronting health or political crises does not wait. It must also remain the forum for dialogue and decision that shapes the destiny of our world.

It is an honour and quite a responsibility to sit in this Council. Before our peoples, all peoples, let us not give in to division and inaction. Let us embrace debate and criticism. Each of us affirms his vision, defends his interests; each has his history and culture. Here, however, something goes beyond us and brings us together: an aspiration, shared by every individual, to justice, dignity and freedom. Those are the ideals we pledged to serve 60 years ago. Let us keep our promise.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of the French Republic for his important statement.

I now give the floor to the Prime Minister of Denmark, His Excellency Mr. Anders Fogh Rasmussen.

Mr. Rasmussen (Denmark): Our discussion here is timely and relevant. Terror attacks in several countries during the last years have underlined our obligation to joint, efficient action against this major scourge of our generation.

Let me be very clear: Terrorism can never be justified. Terrorism is never a legitimate weapon. The targeting and deliberate killing of civilians are unacceptable. Full stop. I therefore find it appalling that today, four years after two passenger planes created havoc in this very city, a few countries are still

blocking agreement on a common definition of terrorism.

Each and every Government has an obligation to destroy terror networks, to dismantle training facilities and to cut off the supply of money and recruits. There ought to be absolutely no doubt or ambiguity about that. It must be made completely clear to our citizens what is acceptable and what is not. Freedom of speech and expression is the very foundation of any modern, democratic society, but that must never be an excuse for inciting terrorism and fostering hatred.

I see a major role for the United Nations in this battle, and I welcome the Secretary-General's outline of a counter-terrorism strategy, but that is not enough. We need to empower the United Nations so that it can fulfil its obligation to ensure security for all in the age of global terrorism.

All Member States need to sign, ratify and implement the United Nations terrorism conventions. All countries must incorporate the relevant provisions into their national legislations in order to hamper the terrorists' room for manoeuvre, and the United Nations should constantly ensure that Member States fulfil their obligations. Countries that lack the necessary capacity to enforce the new legislation deserve our full and generous assistance. Countries that lack the necessary political will deserve our wrath and condemnation.

The threat of terrorists or irresponsible dictators armed with weapons of mass destruction is a shared nightmare for all mankind. This Council has the obligation to ensure that the nightmare never materializes.

The nuclear programmes of Iran and North Korea are a particular and urgent concern. We shall be ready to deal with them here at this table if other avenues fail. Acquiring nuclear weapons does not enhance the security of any State; it only decreases it for us all.

Seventy per cent of all conflicts discussed by this Council take place in Africa. The impact on civilians on that continent is particularly devastating. Africa alone has around 20 million refugees and internally displaced people. For that reason, the resolution put forward here today by the Council's three African members is an important one. I hope that the adoption of that resolution will enable the international community to better prevent international disputes and internal crises from spilling over into armed conflicts, in particular in Africa.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of Denmark for his important statement.

I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, His Excellency Mr. Nobutaka Machimura.

Mr. Machimura (Japan): I thank you very much, Madam, for convening this important meeting today under the Philippines presidency.

In the fight against terrorism, there are three important areas in which the international community must intensify its efforts.

First, priority must be placed on the strengthening of measures to prevent terrorist acts. For its part, Japan adopted an action plan for the prevention of terrorism last December and is in the process of reviewing both its legal institutions and Government practices.

Secondly, it is important to enhance international legal frameworks, as well as to improve our domestic legal system. Tomorrow, Prime Minister Koizumi will sign the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism here at the United Nations. I call upon all Member States to show their utmost flexibility so as to ensure the early conclusion of the comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

Thirdly, we must increase assistance for capacity-building against terrorism.

I believe that the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, has the capacity to play a greater role in each of those areas, as exemplified by the resolution adopted today.

Resolving the conflicts in Africa is a global challenge. In that regard, Japan welcomes the establishment of a proposed peacebuilding commission. We hope that the commission will be able to play an invaluable role in ensuring seamless assistance in post-conflict situations. Japan completely concurs on the importance of having a comprehensive, all-inclusive strategy, as stressed in today's Council resolution.

I would also like to stress the importance of the concept of human security, which Japan has been advocating for some time. The perspective of human

security, which focuses on fully developing the human potential of individuals and local communities, is indispensable as an integral part of the needed comprehensive strategy. Moreover, human security is an important guiding principle in transitional situations.

Let me also take this opportunity to formally announce that Japan, under the auspices of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development, will soon hold an international conference on issues arising in post-conflict situations in Africa. I am sure that the conference will contribute to enhancing discussions on ensuring the smooth transition from post-conflict to reconstruction and development.

In addressing such global challenges as anti-terrorism and conflict prevention in Africa, the Security Council must play a key role. To that end, the Council needs to be reformed so that it can reflect today's realities. I would like to conclude my remarks by stressing that Japan will continue to make every effort to realize Security Council reform.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan for his important statement.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as President of the Philippines.

As the Secretary-General said in Madrid last March, terrorism is a threat to all States, to all peoples, which can strike anytime, anywhere. Like many countries, the Philippines has been struck by the pain of terror, but we have fought back. Since the international war on terror started in 2001, almost 4,000 terrorists in the Philippines have been killed or captured, mostly from the New People's Army, but also including about 300 Abu Sayyaf group members and about 40 international terrorist personalities. We have fought back with the vigilance of ordinary citizens, a strong bilateral and regional security network, our strategic alliance with the United States, and the tools of interfaith dialogue.

A few days after 11 September 2001, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia entered into an operational agreement to protect our common seas from terrorism. Other countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations subsequently joined us in that agreement. We have been able to dissuade the rebels in Mindanao from choosing terrorism as a tactic to achieve their goals. We have isolated the insurgent formations from the terrorist cells, negotiating with the former and hunting down the latter without spawning collateral conflict. Our peace process is perhaps the only one in the world that formally incorporates an anti-terrorism component. Alongside our ceasefire agreement, we have an agreement to cooperate in the interdiction of terrorist cells through the exchange of intelligence, information and orders of battle.

To deny terrorists the means to carry out their attacks, we have found it practical to recognize the leadership of the United States in the war against terror. We work closely with the United States on intelligence and security matters and in intercepting clandestine fund transfers through the anti-money laundering law that we enacted after 11 September. To develop our State capacity to prevent terrorism, the Philippines has also found it practical to accept American assistance for our ongoing defence reforms and, soon, for Philippine law enforcement reforms.

Therefore, let me take this opportunity to declare Philippine support for the United States Proliferation Security Initiative. The United States is the natural leader in this war on terror. America was the first and remains the biggest victim of terrorism in this present era. It is the most motivated and best equipped Member State in the fight against terrorism.

Thus, it would be practical for the Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee to undertake a special intelligence coordinating project with the United States to consolidate all overt and covert international sources of information relevant to the war against terrorism, including an immediate inventory of private organizations that may be working as fronts for terrorist activities and a watch-list of Governments abetting or directly involved in terrorism and related criminal acts. Those found culpable should face the full force of United Nations sanctions.

The fight against terror and the prevention of conflict must thrive on synergy, creativity, strategic alliances for peace and sturdy parameters of collective vigilance. May God bless our work in our own countries and in this Chamber, and all of mankind, which waits upon our courage and wisdom.

I wish to thank all participants for joining together to make this meeting possible. My thanks go to all the heads of State or Government and ministers of foreign affairs, to representatives of Member States

and regional organizations, and to the Secretary-General.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.